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# NORTH WAZIRISTAN

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## A Clash of Cultures?

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## North Waziristan: War of Cultures?

### Abstract

*Indus Civilisation comprised of half a dozen varying cultures, with Indus River acting as geographical boundary; throughout passage of history it has been a conflict between the east and west bank of River Indus. The fourteen years old Global War on Terror<sup>1</sup> is almost coming to an end with Pakistan Army's operation Zarb-e-Azb, to flush out the extremists<sup>2</sup> from North Waziristan reaching its final phase<sup>3</sup>. North Waziristan Political Agency has emerged as the hub, centre of gravity and most dangerous place in this campaign. Historically, the same political agency had been the eye of the storm in the other major campaign,<sup>4</sup> 1936-1947. This paper examines the ongoing war from the positivist and historical perspective with a hypothesis that; 'War is more engraved culturally rather than in the economics or religion in North Waziristan and Militia is socially more apt to tackle it than regular army'.*

**Key Words.** *Constructivism-Aryans- Clash of Civilization-Militia-North Waziristan- Fakir of Ipi-Frontier-Tochi –Tribe-Wazir-Historicism*

### Introduction.

War on terror with passing of time has become 'war with tribes'.<sup>5</sup> The main theatre of operation against the terrorists since 9/11 is focussed along or in the adjoining tribal areas<sup>6</sup> of Pakistan's western frontier which runs along the crest of Hindu Kush Range known as Durand Line<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> War on Terror is the term used for the campaigns launched by USA and its allies in Afghanistan, Iraq and other part of the world since 9/11. In Pakistan, the operation was initially launched as Operation Al Mizan. Also see David C. Rapoport, 2012, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism, in Terrorism Studies*, ed. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, 41. New York: Routledge. Also see Pervaiz Musharraf *In the Line of Fire a Memoir* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2006). Bob Woodward, *Bush At War*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2002), p.81. Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, (London, Simon & Schuster), pp.6-14.

<sup>2</sup> I am using the word extremist rather than the Taliban or Terrorist.

<sup>3</sup> On 1<sup>st</sup> June 2016, Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Shariff commented that 99% success has been achieved in the operation, for complete remarks see <http://www.dawn.com/news/1262254/army-chief-says-drone-attacks-threat-to-countrys-integrity>

<sup>4</sup> Brigadier Sajjad Ahmed, 2012, *Terrorism and Extremism in Pakistan post 9/11 reappraisal and the way forward*, (M.Phil. Thesis), p-92, National Defence University, Islamabad. Till 2012, a total of 37,888 casualties including 3974 security forces, 11,809 civilian, and 22105 insurgents. Also see Dr Khan Muhammad 'ISAF, Afghanistan & Pakistan; Challenges and Opportunities', *Marghalla Papers Islamabad*, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> These seven political agencies are collectively known as Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) having over two dozen tribes inhabiting it, most notable are Wazir, Afridi, Mahsud, Turi, Orakzai, Mohmand. Minor tribes include Shinwari, Daur and Shilman. It is not merely the population but the ownership of land and the martial history which distinguishes a tribe from other. Also see Constitution of Pakistan for status of Tribal Areas

<sup>6</sup> The Durand Line Agreement between Abdur Rehman and Mortimer Durand was signed on November 12, 1893, which formulated the formal borders between British India and Afghanistan. The Durand Line extends approximately 1400 miles from the Sarikol range in the north to the Afghanistan border in the southwest. The treaty was rectified in 1905, 1919, 1920 and 1921 with certain amendments, there were minor adjustments. For more detail see American Institute of Afghan Studies "The Durand Line: History, Consequences and Future." Nov 2007. <http://www.hollingscenter.org/Reports/07-2007>, Hayat, Azmat, *The Durand Line Its Geo-Strategic Importance*. Islamabad: Pan Graphics, 2000.

and even in it the North Waziristan Agency stands out as being the most dangerous<sup>8</sup>. The historical similarity<sup>9</sup> are too identical to be avoided, in 1936 a military operation was initiated in the North Waziristan Agency with a single aim to capture Mirza Ali Khan Tori Khel of Uthmanzais Wazirs known as Fakir of Ipi and it failed to do so till 1960 when Fakir of Ipi died of natural death with his grave still a mystery.<sup>10</sup> In present time, the war primarily started with one single aim to hunt Osama Bin Laden, who again like Fakir of Ipi was believed to be hiding in the same agency<sup>11</sup>; he was finally killed in 2011 at Abbottabad, like Ipi his grave and death is still an enigma.

Thus logically, it is failure to learn from the History<sup>12</sup> which has prolonged the present campaign in North Waziristan.

## Literature Review

The present and existing literature<sup>13</sup> on North Waziristan, War on Terror and FATA falls into following major categories and themes. First, written by British officials between 1830-1947, conveys a *Romance of Frontier*. Second, the American scholars relying more upon the theoretical framework drawn upon the experience of Malay, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Middle East's asymmetric wars, can be summarised as *Deductive Idealism*: Pakistan being the hub of the International terrorism, bastion of militancy, Islam as the primary factor in the increase of violence all over the globe, Pakistan's military being implicated in the support of the militants<sup>14</sup>. The conclusion of native scholars is towards highlighting the lack of infrastructure, facilities and education {*Marxism, economic disparity*}. However scholars world over have either over looked or misinterpreted the concept of *Qaum, Watan and Riway*. It is this misinterpretation {ontology} which resultantly makes every rebel, anarchist, revoloutanry, guerrilla, criminal, in the political agency into more commonly accepted perception as a Taliban or terrorist or a militant.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup>, President Obama's remarks on a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, White House office of the press secretary, 27 March 2009, [www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Remarks-by-the-President-o..](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-o..)

<sup>9</sup> Historical repetition, what is repeated is not the event itself but rather the structure, thus repetition of events occupies a major philosophical framework, for more see Karen Katajin *History and Repetition*, ed, Seiji M Lippi, {New York: Columbia University, 2012}

<sup>10</sup> Fakir of Ipi's grave is at Gurweikht, western end of Tochi valley inside a cave but no funeral was ever held at time of death and even exact location is uncertain.

<sup>11</sup> In the public and in the military circles the prevailing mind set was, that Osama is hiding in North Waziristan Agency. Also see Mustafa Hamid, Farrall, Leah. *The Arabs at War in Afghanistan*. {London: Hurst & Company, 2015}. Also see Armed Forces War Course 2004-05, Military History presentation by Brigadier Muhammad Farooq *War Against Terror and Coalition Operations in Afghanistan*. National Defence University Islamabad.

<sup>12</sup> History as a concept and term is a European perspective, a Greek creation, see Donald Kelly, *Faces of Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* {London: Yale University, 1998}, p-3. Main debate is whether to consider History a science or an art, for more see, Arnold Jhonson *The Historian and Historical Evidence* {New York: Charles Scribner, 1926}, p-9.

<sup>13</sup> In the Literature review, the books, articles and unpublished thesis at Ph.D and Mphil have been consulted, there is no specific study on North Waziristan Agency, although few thesis are on Khyber Agency, for more see ETHOS a collection of thesis of British Universities. [ethos.bl.uk/](http://ethos.bl.uk/)

<sup>14</sup>, British Prime Minister David Camerron accused Pakistan of 'looking both ways', <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/jul/28/david-cameron-india-pakistan-terror>

<sup>15</sup> Taliban a Persian word denotes student, or more precisely a seeker of religious knowledge, the term was mentioned in 1929 report of political agent North Waziristan Agency while describing a killer who had committed a honour killing, he was a talib in local seminary. *Miranshah Archives*.

*Qaum*{nation} conveys a strong sense of bondage in which every man is identified with his clan and to his tribe, the area occupied by the tribe is *Watan*, which in Western mechanics is equal to a state, whereas the *Riwaj*{culture} is the Magna Carta of these tribes, the unwritten laws and customs which every individual is bound to adhere and around which the *Watan* and *Qaum* revolves. The misinterpretation lies in the two different sets of structures and norms, it is like looking at the world from two eyes each having a different point of focus. Whereas modern civilisation including Pakistan adheres to the Western concept of statehood, law, morality, regulations, international relations and as such all the organs of state, {bureaucracy, military, social norms, living pattern} are structured according to international norms; the tribes especially the Wazir are adhering to ancient traditions and their geography and habitat apart from social norms have fundamentally remained unchanged since the time of Old Testament and as such Wazir are an ancient civilisation, most probably Aryan. One of the key error is taking all the tribal areas as one single geographical entity in the form of FATA, there by relegating all tribes as one tribal unity.

Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilisation*<sup>16</sup> read in the background of Mackinder's *Geographical Pivot of History*<sup>17</sup>, Turner's *Frontier Thesis*<sup>18</sup> along with Lord Curzon's on *Indian Frontier*<sup>19</sup> and a picture emerges in which the Indus civilisation is at the heart of Geographical Pivot of history, nature has placed three great civilisation at one source and as such the concept of frontier emerges which is abstract in nature but defines the overlay of civilisation. Culture and Civilisation<sup>20</sup> are two inherent overlapping threads which tends to explain a new paradigm in International relations

Frontiers are the undefined extent of sovereignty, it is abstract in nature as unlike boundary, Frontiers are not marked humanly rather it is the geography which draws the Frontiers between the civilisations, e.g.; Pamir watershed draws the line of Frontiers between the Oxus and Indus, or between the mountainous and the plain civilisation. Frontier Civilisation thus is a combination of Oxus and Indus civilisations; Indus Frontier hereby defines the political as well as the geographical extent of British Raj in past and now Pakistan.

Civilisation took birth along the rivers, each valley{river} of Indus civilisation have its own *Culture* {rituals, customs and traditions} influenced by the geography, thus Indus Civilisation comprise of different cultures. *Indus Valley is a Martial Civilisation*, is one of the major deduction from the Alexander The Great's campaign with Indus Civilisation, which later on embraced Islam.

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<sup>16</sup> [Huntington, Samuel P.](#), *The Clash of Civilizations?*, in "[Foreign Affairs](#)", vol. 72, no. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 22–49. also see by same author *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996.

<sup>17</sup> Mackinder, H.J., "[The Geographical Pivot of History](#)", *The Geographical Society*, Vol. 23, No.4, (April 1904), 421-437

<sup>18</sup> [The Frontier In American History](#) the original 1893 essay by Turner

<sup>19</sup> Lord Curzon Viceroy of India 1899-1905, the man who raised the North Western Frontier Province and also the Militia, his writings are the foremost and pioneer on Frontier see Lord Curzon *On The Indian Frontier*, ed, Dhara Anjaria {Karachi: Oxford, 2012.} also see Curzon, Lord. 'Frontier' in *Oxford Lectures on History 1904-1923 Ten Volumes in One*. USA: Free Library, 1924. [George N. Curzon](#) *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Jul., 1896), pp. 15-5

<sup>20</sup> Civilisation, a state of human society which is highly developed, a society, its culture and its way of life at a particular period of time or in a particular part of world. Culture on the other hand is ascribed as way of life, and social organisation of particular country or group {Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English, seventh edition}

Religion further fuelled the militancy through the edicts and interpretation. most notably Mahmood of Ghazna's {1000 AD} campaign against the Hindus and later Tamerlane's holocaust {1302 AD} . Waziristan emerged at this point in history, they were part of Mahmood's force and Tamerlane exited Indus Valley through Tochi Valley. Later during the Mughul period of rule, Waziristan remained obscure, Frontier was never peaceful in entity during the three hundred years , Mughuls major contribution is that they kept Kabul as part and subservient to the Agra and later Delhi.

British East India Company from 1600 AD onwards brought new civilisation and its philosophy, based upon the Island mind-set, western political thoughts or *Machiavellian Model*. Western language, dress code, eating habits, living pattern soon became the guiding light for social progress. In 1947 Indus and Ganges civilisation were divided on historical and geographical basis into two states, Pakistan and India, as a result of Two Nation Theory on religious basis. Pakistan inherited the Frontier as well, within Pakistan existed two distinct civilisations, one a western, mostly on east of Indus {Punjab} and other medieval or eastern on the west of Indus.

## Wazir - Aryan Tribe.

Wazir are an ancient Pathan<sup>21</sup> tribe. Observing them , reinforces the theory of them being an Aryan tribe, still adhering and following the ancient Aryan way of life. Waziristan came into prominence due to Forward Policy after the annexation of Punjab in 1849<sup>22</sup>. The tribal society in Waziristan is primitive in nature, more akin to the majority of early city states of Greece; democrats, without any hierarchical kingship. All Wazir<sup>23</sup> being treated equal yet racist in outlook as non-Wazir and non-Muslim especially the Hindus are not allowed to wear the turban rather a white skull cap is allowed to them<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Pathan's oral history traces their origin from the twelve lost tribes, Pathan ontologically represents the over 20 million who shares and speaks same language Pashtu with little variation, within Pathan there are classes of tribes, the Afridi, Wazir, Mahsud, and, Turi tribes lives astride the Durand Line and among them less Turi all other are nomadic in nature as they have separate summer and winter habitats. , Yousafzai and Khattak despite being populous are regarded as Settled Tribes, same is the case with Bangash tribe.

<sup>22</sup> Major H.G. Raverty "The Afghan Wazirs and their Country" in *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, Volume IX, Nos 17 and 18, January – April 1895* (Oriental University Institute, Woking,) page 153,.

<sup>23</sup> Origin of Waziristan. is obscure the tradition goes that once upon a time long long ago there were two brothers and one of them was childless and the other had a daughter, they both were out hunting when they found a child ,they found an axe also. The childless brother adopted the baby which in Pashto was named as Karlanri {meaning axe}. When the boy grew up he was married to the daughter of his uncle. This Karlanri had two sons, one was named as Koday who in turn had two wives, from the first wife the Orakzais took birth and from second wife the Afridis, Khattaks, Mangals and Turis were bred. Kokay was the second son of Karlanri he had two sons one named as Sulaiman and the other as Shitak, Dauris are the descendants' of Shitak. Sulaiman also had two sons; Bangash are the descendents from Malikmir the youngest son of Sulaiman. Wazir the eldest son of Suleiman had two sons namely Khizri and Lali . Khizri had three sons namely Musa, Mahmud and Mubarak. Musa was called Darwesh from his religious character and thus clan that is today known as Darwesh Khel Wazir are his descended. Musa had two sons namely Utman and Ahmed which thus forms the sub clans of Darwesh Khel as Utmanzai & Ahmedzai. Mahmud had a son called Mahsud which forms the Mahsud Wazir Tribe or clan similarly Mubarak had one son name Gurbuz which forms the Gurbuz Wazir tribe. Thus it is seen that all the clans are interlinked through blood.

<sup>24</sup> Political Agent Report North Waziristan Agency 1901,p-5-6, Official document, Tochi Scouts Archives, Miranshah.

Man marries and raises family, his off springs are his strength thus as many male as possible<sup>25</sup>, family houses built in mud fort style at distant, forms a clan and clans constitute tribe, marriages are preferred among the clan and then tribe. There is no central hereditary power junta rather it varies with time to time. Role and status of women and slaves is a good indicator of any society, women are treated with respect and are seldom seen outside their walled compounds. Kidnapping or rape of females is a rarity.<sup>26</sup> There is no slavery in any form within the agency neither is there any flesh market or trade<sup>27</sup>. The practising religion is the Sunni sect of Islam, thus religious men attracts great reverence yet there are very few shrines<sup>28</sup>; most pious person revered in North Waziristan is the Fakir of Ipi. Elders are respected, Jirga is the parliament of the clan where collective decisions are taken and are bound to be observed. Jirga allows every man to have a right to speak and in the end the decision of Jirga is accepted and adhered, yet anyone can disagree. This Jirga is the most liberal and ancient form of democracy. Presently a Jirga can be convened by the Political Agent in which all the leading Maliks<sup>29</sup> are invited, on the other hand Jirga can be summoned and gathered by a clan to discuss and evolve strategy ranging from the punishment for adultery to entering into new contract with state. Each tribe and clan have its own militia known as Lashkar, thus military service is an obligation within the clan and tribe. Clans<sup>30</sup> of Wazir have a constant simmering of hostility among them basing upon the land dispute and more importantly the vendetta is always taken known as *Badl*, every tribe have a considerable amount of armoury including anti-aircraft guns, mines and field artillery; most of them were captured during the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, {1979-1989}.<sup>31</sup> Thus Wazir lives as an extended family, having common property in form of grazing grounds in Shawal plateau, not only wazir but other Pathan tribes also.

Forward Policy<sup>32</sup> divided Waziristan into South Waziristan and North Waziristan Political Agencies<sup>33</sup> in 1895<sup>34</sup>, these agencies were directly under command to the Central Government at

<sup>25</sup> This observation is based upon the empirical data, the hospital record at Miranshah, interview with lady doctor at Miranshah Fort who have been to the free medical camp in the agency. There is no concept of birth control, 7-8 siblings are common.

<sup>26</sup> Record at Political Agent Miranshah office, kidnapping of female is rare, in between 1896-2012, not more than thirteen such incidents. In 1984 Arsala Khan did kidnapped two females, out of them he married with one.

<sup>27</sup> In contrast, in Chitral a princely state adjoining the Durand Line, flesh trade was common till 1860 and even now and then, it comes in news that Chitrali women are being sold into marriage by their parents, for more see *Injigga Mein Khawateen ka Role* {Role of women in Injigaan{Chitral} by Laeeq Ahmed{Chitral: 2012}.

<sup>28</sup> Within Islam, different sects have varying connotation regarding the shrines and graves, Waziristan is more lean towards Wahhabism thus lack of shrines. On the other hand in Kurram Agency which is Shia biased, the number of shrines are much more than North Waziristan.

<sup>29</sup> There were 250<sup>29</sup> Malakans in NWA in 2005, except at Miranshah where the Daur have majority of malaks, these malaks are nominated by the political agent, they receive annual allowance and subsidies.

<sup>30</sup> Ibrahim Khel, Wali Khel and Mamit Khel are the three major Wazir Tribes with sub clans which includes Madda Khel, Manzar Khel, Tori Khel and Macha Khel of Ibrahim clan, Bakka Khel, Jani Khel, and Kabul Khel being part of Wali Khel clan, Hassan Khel, Khaddar Khel, Bora Khel and Wuzzi Khel were integral part of Mamit Khel; all in all there 42 sub clans of Uthmanzai Wazirs in NWA.

<sup>31</sup> During 2001, Tribal war between Madda Khel and Mohmit Khel, both used artillery and land mines. *Tochi Scouts War Diary*, Miranshah Archives.

<sup>32</sup> Forward Policy, the policy of British Government towards the tribes and the frontier, basing upon the threat of Russian towards India. It took birth in 1849 and finally proved its utility and effectiveness in 1979 when Russian armed forces entered into Afghanistan, later defeat of Russia in Afghanistan and subsequent disintegration are attributed to the Forward Policy.

Calcutta and not to the provincial government {Punjab and later NWFP}. The agency is the heartland of Wazir with Daur as a protectorate clan {*Hamsaya*}<sup>35</sup>, carrying on the agricultural work and paying a tribute to Wazir annually for protection. It were the Daur who requested and invited the British to take them under their protection in lieu of taxes<sup>36</sup>; similar pattern took place in adjoining Kurram Agency where the Turi Tribe also requested British for protection in 1892. The Agency itself is along the Tochi River stretching from Bannu to Dwa Toi, having a length of 70 miles. Wazir occupies the hills and the upper valley where as the Daur are in plains and in lower valley. Both tribes have disputes over land. Whereas Wazir clans are nomadic and migratory and have cousins in the form of Mahsuds, the Daur are practically alone. The history of North Waziristan Agency since 1896 when it was raised is mostly the feud among these two tribes, with the passage of time these Daur became more educated and as such entered government jobs yet socially within the agency they are still regarded as a tier lower than Wazir, this is the cardinal cultural difference in the agency. Just to make the point more clear, take the example of Kurram Political Agency where the division is more on the lines of sectarianism, Turi the native are Shia and now in minority whereas the latter settlers<sup>37</sup> are Sunni, but in NWA, division is based on racial superiority and not on religion.

Before 1997 Malaks used to elect the member of national assembly in FATA and also in North Waziristan {national assembly constituency No. 40} however from 2002 onwards the restriction of having a bachelor degree for the candidate and direct voting by the people change the scenario, resultantly it has been Daur which are now elected for the national assembly seat, this is an

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<sup>33</sup> NWA have an area of 4,707 square kilometres. Presently population is 3, 61,246 (1998 census) There are 192,432 males and 168,814 females in the agency, literacy rate being 13% among males and 0.5% among females. Population density is 77 persons per square kilometres. The Uthmanzai Wazirs forms 59% of population, Daur 39% with Mahsuds forming the remainder. NWA have 705 educational institutions out of which there are 405 primary, 67 middle, 31 high and 149 community based schools and one degree college at Miranshah having 814 students; there is one vocational college, one commerce college, one commercial college and one teachers training centre having 14 students. There are 40,000 boys and 20,000 female students in NWA. Mir Ali have the highest number of schools for girls. The number of teachers in NWA exceeds over 800 with 458 male and 401 female teachers imparting education. In terms of medical facilities it had improved tremendously in last one hundred years, there is one Agency Headquarters Hospital at Miranshah having 120 beds, a tehsil hospital at Mir Ali with 60 beds, one rural health centre at Spinwam with 70 beds and apart from these there are seven civil hospitals with 70 beds capacity, 14 basic health units, 49 mother-child health centres, 59 dispensaries and three sub-health centres. Animal care is not lagging behind, NWA has been famous for its bulls, by the turn of millennium there were one million cattle, four million sheep and goats, five million poultry and only 331 horses and 1500 camels but mules were over 14000 in numbers. There are 23 veterinary dispensaries, four veterinary hospitals, 12 centres and eight animal insemination centres. There have been only one instance of prostitution at Miranshah in 1985..

<sup>34</sup> Officially the North Waziristan political Agency was raised in 1910, however from 1895, the NWA and SWA were having political agents and both political agencies were placed under command of Commissioner Dera Jats. It was Lord Curzon who eliminated the commissioner's role in dealing with political agencies. For more detail on the administrative set up see Brandon Douglas Marsh. *Ramparts of empire, India's North-West Frontier and British Imperialism 1919-1947*. Austin: University of Texas, 2009. Bruce, Issac., *The Forward Policy and its results or thirty Five Years work amongst the tribes on our North Western Frontier of India*, first edition 1900. Quetta: Gosha -e-Adab, 1977. Government of India *Imperial Gazetteer Provincial Series North West Frontier province*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2002. First edition 1910.

<sup>35</sup> Hamsaya or protected, is a Riway in North Waziristan where any person can ask for protection from his enemies, and in lieu agrees to carry out the work in fields. Hamsaya is always treated as a one tier lower socially than the Wazir, intermarriages are rare but feuds are common.

<sup>36</sup> Political Agent NWA office Miranshah archives, also see the Tochi Scouts regimental history at Miranshah.

<sup>37</sup> In Kurram, in 1979, 54539 Afghan refugees all Sunni were settled at Sada, a small town short of Parachinar, this has offset the traditional balance of power among the tribes in the agency. In NWA there are 73415 Afghan refugees, yet all are Sunni by faith thus it has not affected the balance of power in NWA. {for data on Kurram Agency, see political Agent Kurram Agency archives at Parachinar, and for NWA see Miranshah Archives.}

ill of democracy as it shrouds the real power makers basing on numbers and clauses of eligibility. Implementation of Western standards of democracy is one of the cultural clashes which has taken place. Wazir being conservative, do not allow their women to cast vote whereas Daur have little of such inhibitions, especially the area up till Miranshah.<sup>38</sup>

North Waziristan is overwhelmingly a Sunni adhering agency, following Deoband school of thought or Wahhabis, King Saud of Saudi Arabia paid a state visit to Miranshah in 1953<sup>39</sup>. Thus Arab inclination towards this agency is no surprise. Agency also have the highest number of religious seminaries among all the political agencies<sup>40</sup> most notable are Idak Madrassa, Maulvi Saleem Gul of Spinwam, Haqqani Madrassa, Dande Madrassa and Degan, all less Idak are in Wazir control.

## Militia, Army & Tribes- Distinct Cultures

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, three distinct types of army cultures emerged, one based upon pure all British regiments known as British Army, second the British Indian Army having British officers but troops were natives. Third being, Sikh Army which was comprised of Sikh and Muslim troops and officers. A new military organisation, the newly raised native Frontier Irregulars almost exclusively in Peshawar and Mardan districts was transitioned into short lived Punjab Irregulars and Frontier Force regiments {Piffers}<sup>41</sup>. Pakistan Army's cultural and traditional roots thus lies in these British and British Indian armies which is built upon the distinct culture of regimentation, strict discipline, bureaucratic in nature, heterogeneous class composition having centralised command and control structure. Even today , Pakistan army's certain regiments still have old flags and nomenclature, mess rules, living pattern, dress code, working environment, training parameters, rank and organisation with British cultural influence and colour.<sup>42</sup> Later with the induction of air force a new culture took birth which was almost at loggerhead with army culture.

In North Waziristan the very first Levies were raised in 1895<sup>43</sup> which were upgraded to North Waziristan Militia {NWM} in 1900. Fundamentally Levies were comprised of men from only one tribe {Daur} whereas Militia had Wazir tribe only. Militia had army officers in command who were

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<sup>38</sup> For a more detail observation see the voting result and pattern of voting in NA -40, reference Pakistan Election Commission.

<sup>39</sup> Tochi Scouts *Visitors Book and related instructions of visit*, Miranshah Archives.2012.

<sup>40</sup> There are 1300 seminaries in North Waziristan Agency, highest among all political agencies, source, FATA secretariat.

<sup>41</sup> Timothy Roberts Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India & The Developmental Frontier Warfare 1849 1947*." {Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy}, King's College, University of London. pp. 20-25

<sup>42</sup> Old regiments like 5 Horse {Probyn's} 11 Cavalry {Prince Albert Victor's Own}, Guides Cavalry and Infantry, 4 Baluch Regiment have battle cry as Ich Bien Dien, for more details see Raza, Shaikat, *Pakistan Army 1947 – 1949*. Rawalpindi: Army Education Press, 1989.

<sup>43</sup> Initially British introduced Border Military Police to check the incursions of the Mehsud in settled districts, later Levies were raised, they were the police of the political agent, enrolled from a single tribe {Daur} later Militia was raised which had the composition from all the tribes {Wazir} however , Daur were not inducted in the Militia, in 1922 the North Waziristan Militia was changed into Tochi Scouts, there by enrolling tribesmen from other political agencies as well. For more see, *Border & Administration Report for the year 1895-1896*, Political Agent Archives Miran Shah. Unpublished.

all British, it also had native officers as well from regular army on deputation. In classical term the Militia in North Waziristan Agency or in any other political agency were not raised in the manner in which it was raised in England.<sup>44</sup>

Period between 1936 - 1947 is interesting as no less than 30,000 British troops were deployed in North Waziristan to hunt one man Fakir of Ipi. It should be kept in mind that at that period British military needed every man to counter Nazism thus this deployment of such magnitude speaks for itself. Fakir of Ipi accidentally rose to fame due to the Islam Bibi affair in Bannu. From the onset, army took control of the operation, Ipi village was shelled and this ignited the Fakir of Ipi 's own tribe Tori Khel. This period also gives an insight of two military cultures working together, one that of regular army with its heavy load of rules and regulations and other that of Scouts<sup>45</sup> with practical and very little bureaucratic channels. There were accusation upon the Scouts of collaborating with the natives which were partially true but the overall efficiency offset these minor irritants.

Frontier Corps and army have two distinct military cultures and both have seldom worked together for long duration<sup>46</sup>. Majority of the scouts present less the officers had very little knowledge about the way of army working and same was the case among the army jawans.<sup>47</sup> One of the scouts narrated that in initial days he was uncomfortable with the presence of army. One key reason was the lack of communication between the two. Scouts invariably speak Pashtu which very few in army ranks and even less in officer cadre understand. A scout irrespective of his rank always shake hands with the visitors irrespective of his rank, would offer him tea and since he is not that proficient in Urdu thus his vocabulary is very informal in addressing the seniors; in army it is other way around where it is the prerogative of the senior to offer his hand for handshake. In army all company commanders are invariably officers preferably a field officer but in Tochi Scouts or for that matter in FC the companies are commanded by junior commissioned officers {JCO's}; which is a

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<sup>44</sup> Militia as a word was first use in British Parliament in 1641, it envisage the arming of native population and carrying out drill and practices twice a week and to be deployed in close vicinity of their homes. In America, the Militia was more organised having a detail layout of rank and organisational structure.. John Kenneth Rowland. *Origin of the Second Amendment: The creation of the constitutional rights of Militia and of keeping and bearing Arms*. Ohio State University, 1978. Lieutenant General Sir Howley Goodenough and Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Dalton *The Army Book For The British Empire, a record of the development and present position of the military forces and their duties in peace and war*. London: printed for Her Majesty stationery office, 1898. For details on British Militia see [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th\\_century/england.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/england.asp) also see <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/revolution/collections1/collections-glorious-revolution/billofrights/> <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/civilwar/overview/the-breakdown/>

<sup>45</sup> In 1922, North Waziristan Militia was reorganised as Tochi Scouts.

<sup>46</sup> Frontier Corps which is comprised of Militia, Scouts and Rifles is under the control of Ministry of Interior where as army falls under Ministry of Defence. Frontier Corps troops are all native tribesmen whereas army have a mix induction which is predominately Punjabi, FC have officers from army on short deputation. Both FC and Army have operated jointly in 1965 and 1971 Wars against India where FC was put under command of army. By and large, army does not have high opinion of Militia { this observation is based upon twenty years of army service}.

<sup>47</sup> During summer of 2012, author remained in Miranshah and these observations are based upon interviews and observations. Militia soldiers admitted that they had little information about army way of life and army soldiers mostly Punjabis had the very first interaction with the tribesmen or Militia.

very powerful and authoritative rank. The concept of Qaum is another enigma for the army<sup>48</sup>; qaum tend to live, train, eat, fight, obey, disobey and die together, this is more magnetic than the esprit de corps.

Militia despite having dining tables still tend to eat and sleep together and on floor covered with mat, in army they eat on tables. Scouts wears kameezshalwar {militia} with brown chappals where as in army the kameezshalwar is basically an off parade dress, in scout's code of manners the officers are allowed to visit mess in the kameezshalwar with chappals but in army the same very dress code can land an officer in trouble. In FC there is more initiative, less staff work for the reasons that the authorisation of officers is less.

Scouts life pattern is also different from army; his sense of motivation and pride is centrally revolving around the pride of his Qaum more than his sense of unity with Wing<sup>49</sup> where as in army the battalion is the pride. Scout is very demanding and vocal in terms of his right of ration and leave,. Statistically a Scout is more religious oriented than an army jawan, although in Tochi Scouts there were 234 scouts<sup>50</sup> who were unable to read Holy Koran yet a scout seldom misses a prayer. A Scout seldom urinates while standing but in army it is a common affair. Professionally in the contest of Frontier Warfare a scout was more professional, his body muscles were more tuned to mountain marches, climbs, descends and use of ground than an army jawan. An army jawan have the edge in technology; he had a broader outlook, was more educated and above all had better equipment.

In FC the scouts were more in harmony carrying their weapons loaded with ammunition then the army. It is no secret that in army{prior to 9/11} the guards at quarter guards were always armed with sticks or carrying rifles with ammunition stored with the guard commanders.<sup>51</sup> it was not the case in FC. Religiously FC or more precisely the Tochi Scouts are more liberal, tolerant and broad outlook; for instance in no army cantonment one finds an Imambargah but every FC Corps have one. Militia troops requires careful handling, dealing and attention, they are sensitive to any adverse remarks, at times are unable to understand common jokes and above all hate any racial comments. There are no pictures of female actresses in the Tochi Scouts canteen, troops information room or on posts, a common feature in most of the army canteens and posts, there are no cinemas in North Waziristan, in army every station has one. Frontier Corps troops seldom talks about females and absolutely detests anyone inquiring about their family members; unless he has developed a confidence in his superior. A

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<sup>48</sup> Qaum is a convoluted affair as far as army officers and troops are concerned. Army is built around in having 'regiment' as the centre of gravity or spirit de Corps where as in militia it is the qaum which is the driving force .

<sup>49</sup> Tochi Scouts comprised of five Wings, each wing is at par with an infantry battalion, having a strength of 600 men with light weapons, commanded by a lieutenant colonel, having four companies commanded by junior commissioned officers and each company having three platoons. For detail organisation of Frontier Corps see *General Staff publication* of Army and also *An introduction to Frontier Corps*, a restricted publication of Frontier Corps Headquarters.

<sup>50</sup> Tochi Scouts *Reports and Returns*, half yearly 2012.

<sup>51</sup> It is based upon personal observation, author served in army for 23 years, ' never for once I saw a army jawan carrying ammunition with him on night duty, it was always with the guard commander wrapped in a plastic shopping bag'. Special services group {SSG} was the sole exception in army , carrying loaded weapons on duty. Even Military police soldiers on duty had empty revolvers.

FC jawan takes Niswar, army jawans prefer cigarettes. Their fables, proverbs, heroes, folk lore, songs, dances all differ from each other.

In Tochi Scouts or for that matter in FC the officers are from army, on a deputation to the civil, they serve in scouts for two years. These officers are from various arms and services of army.<sup>52</sup> Other ranks on the other hand spent 15-23 years in Tochi Scouts or in the Tochi Valley thus they are familiar with every village, *killi*, *algad* and *khar*. They know the culture, *riwaj* and traditions of the each tribe and village. An army unit seldom interacts with civilians thus to them there is no such thing as *riwaj*. Scouts way of warfare is medieval in cultural aspect which is in frequency with the adjoining environs; army on the other hand represents modern times. Army last had a tour of duty in North Waziristan way back in 1947, over passage of time it has become more technological in outlook however as the time passed it became obvious that the technology has little to offer to offset any limitation in deviations from the basic of Frontier Warfare; which revolves around culture.

## Post 9/11.

In North Waziristan the operations between 9/11 till July 2005 were all conducted by the Tochi Scouts<sup>53</sup> with very little casualties, they were able to open up three inaccessible areas of Bangidhar, Kazha and DwaToi. Due to the operations in Afghanistan the Taliban shifted, migrated and took refuge in the Waziristan Mere ordering the tribes to evict them was against the *riwaj*; initially there were no Taliban safe heavens in North Waziristan<sup>54</sup>, it was mainly after Army operations in South Waziristan from 2002 onwards that they shifted into North Waziristan.

On 5<sup>th</sup> July 2005, army took the operational command of the agency there by placing both the political agent and the Tochi Scouts under its command; the situation was normal by the agency standards. The agency was not under the grip of Taliban rather it were the local criminal gangs and shortage of electricity which were the major nuisance and menace<sup>55</sup>. Americans carried out an operation against the Taliban in Lataka Narai on the night of 14/15<sup>th</sup> July in which 24 Taliban were killed<sup>56</sup>; this incident triggered a chain of events .

Starting from the night of 16/17<sup>th</sup> July 2005 and commencing on the evening of 20<sup>th</sup> July three connected operations were carried out with multiple aims; show of strength, clear the area of unlicensed weapons and to apprehend any foreign miscreants. All three operations were conducted in the surroundings of Miranshah Fort.

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<sup>52</sup> Army officers in the initial days of British raj were mainly from Infantry or Cavalry, in 1966 the officers from non fighting arms {supply, artillery, ordnance, engineers} were inducted in FC and quality of officers was low, based upon officers efficiency index{OEI}, the low OEI officers were the mainstay of FC, it has changed since 2004, now a balance breed of officers are sent to FC.

<sup>53</sup> In 1922, the nomenclature of North Waziristan Militia was changed to Tochi Scouts, *Tochi Scouts Standing Orders 1922*.

<sup>54</sup> Tochi Scouts operational record, at Miranshah.

<sup>55</sup> Tochi Scouts records shows demonstrations in Miranshah were carried out by boys college students protesting about the shortage of electricity during examination period. There were criminal gangs in the agency but nothing extraordinary.

<sup>56</sup> Operational record of Tochi Scouts and 7 Infantry Division.

Nothing much was achieved, sixteen persons were arrested apart from nine light machine guns & one rocket launcher. Unnecessary resistance and the ensuing fire opened by the army resulted in the death of eighteen foreigners out of which five were women, four boys and six; this was the turning point in current war which ignited the agency. Thus it was not the religion or the affiliation with Taliban rather a misjudged cultural act resulted in creating a Domino factor.

## Zarb-e-Azb. An Unfinished Affair

Pakistan Army launched the operation against the militants in North Waziristan ‘Operation Zarb-e- Azb’ on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2014, just months after the new Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif took control after almost six years of extended command by his predecessor General Kayani., who has been alleged by his own under command of being afraid of Taliban backlash in case of an operation in North Waziristan Agency.<sup>57</sup> Thus the operation in North Waziristan became a matter of prestige and ego apart from an operational necessity.

‘Zarb –e-Azab is not merely an operation, it is an concept, it is a resolve and a commitment to nation’.<sup>58</sup>In the first year, no less than 700 Intelligence based operations {IBO}, 250 minor and only one major operation was conducted in North Waziristan Agency, army suffered 316 shaheed{dead} and 3200 wounded casualties where as terrorist suffered 2729 killed, 1000 hideouts destroyed and 253 tons of explosives were also recovered.<sup>59</sup>The army spokesman has termed it as the war of survival “This is the biggest and most well-coordinated operation ever conducted against terrorists. It is the beginning of the end for terrorism in the country,”<sup>60</sup>. Operation Zarb-e-Azab is in fact the reversal of Operation Curzon, there by occupation of same area/cantonments which were vacated by army in 1947.

When the operation was launched it was conveyed by the army spokesman that it would be over in a week, than prime minister hoped it will be over by mid of Ramadan and finally defence minister expressing that no time frame can be given. Such statements are a relic of 1936 Campaign when similar hopes were expressed but the campaign lasted for well over a decade<sup>61</sup>. Now the current operation after two years of fighting practically stands on the same standard as it was on first day. Presently, there is curfew imposed for movement of military convoys, troops still cannot go to the bazaar for fear of safety, posts are still being attacked; same was the situation between the 2005-2014. Only difference being that in period prior to July 2005, troops were

<sup>57</sup> [http://www.bbc.com/urdu/pakistan/2014/06/140630\\_waziristan\\_delay\\_kayani\\_blame\\_zz.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/urdu/pakistan/2014/06/140630_waziristan_delay_kayani_blame_zz.shtml)  
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1116115>

<sup>58</sup> General Raheel Sharif addressing the passing out parade of Pakistan Military academy on 18<sup>th</sup> October 2014. See *Hilal* the Pakistan Armed Forces magazine, June 2015, p-27.

<sup>59</sup> *Hilal*, June 2015, p-21. Army did not released the number of terrorist apprehended or wounded

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.dawn.com/news/1115371/zarb-i-azb-is-war-of-survival-says-ispr-chief>, dated,

<sup>61</sup> For more details on 1936 -1947 campaign see Cabinet Papers of British Government ,  
<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/>

The usual military term of it lasting till the achievement of peace and the end of terrorism in the area are too broad and can fire back politically and militarily. If and when the operation is terminated then even blasting of a lone Improvised Explosive Device {IED} or a suicidal attack on military convoy will pose a serious question on the success of the operation. Keeping in view the past history of the area, this is very much on card.

## Conclusion

History is a living thing, our present is rooted in our past, geographical and cultural realities are a fact. North Waziristan has never been peaceful<sup>62</sup> in its last one hundred years of history, it highlights an increase in violence whenever army prolong its presence, thus hypothesis of its behaving differently this time is defying the historical logic. Operation Zarb-e-Azb, was a test case, had it been over as per plan, it would have defied the history; but unfortunately that is not the case.

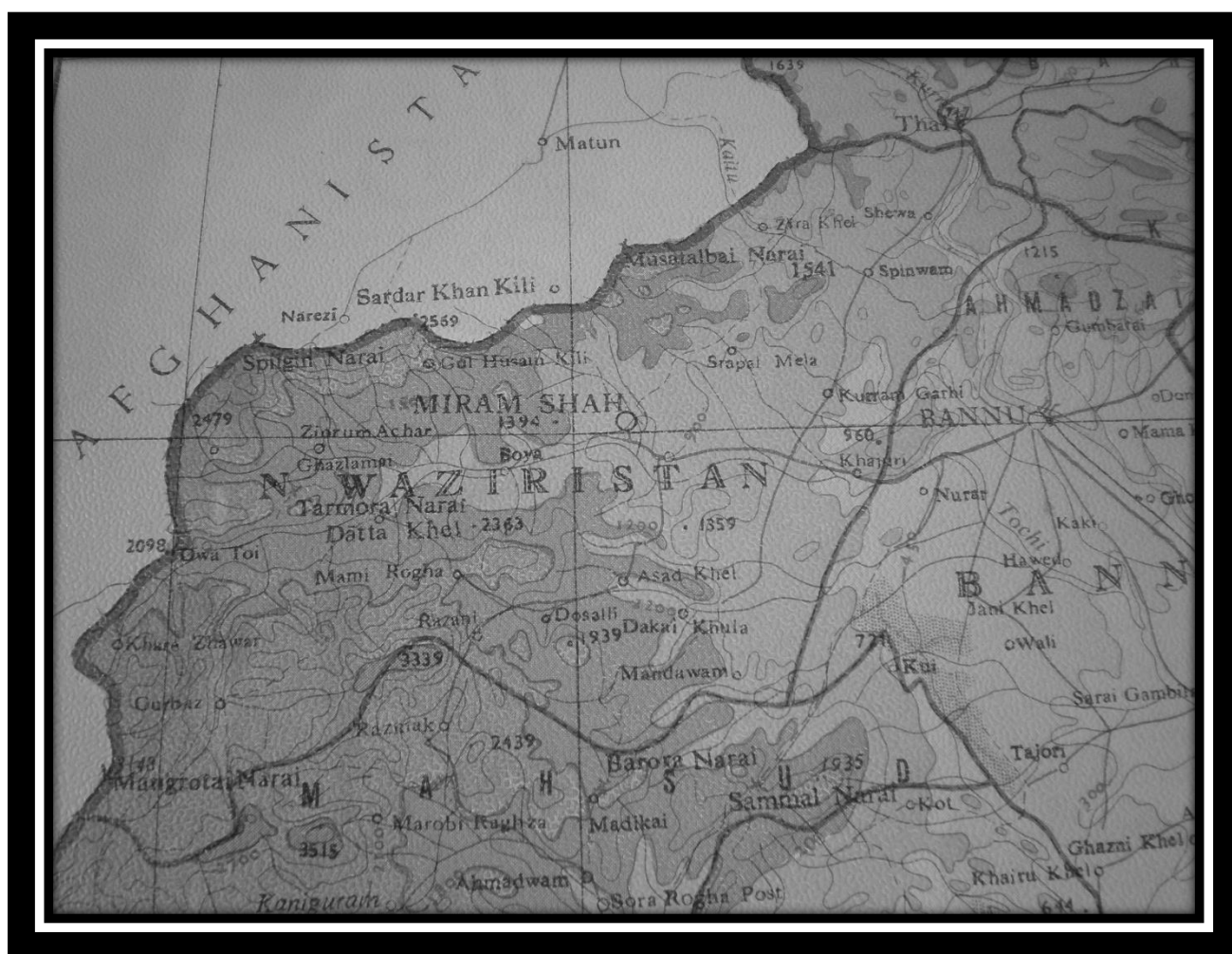
The rule of majority {democracy} is being taken as the ultimate recipe for the enduring peace in the world without realising that it cannot be applied equally everywhere. By applying the Western thoughts and philosophy in North Waziristan without taking into consideration the geographical, historical and cultural realities, the idea of peace will remain a distant dream. The war itself took birth because of western standards of law and justice, In USA, even today the religious tribes {Mennonites, Amish} and sects are living a way of life, in which women wear traditional dress, there is no electricity in house, children are educated in own schools, for transportation the horse driven carriages are used, {Philadelphia and Virginia States}. In Europe the borders have been opened for the countries of union, similar provisions must be given to own tribes to move freely across Durand Line. Thus the conflict is rooted in the different paradigms, whereas tribe are adhering to ancient way of life in which borders and restrictions on cultural values are antagonism, on the other hand, the modern states are based upon Western mechanism; in which borders, boundaries, international commitment and use of force as the first necessity are the integral part of this structure.

One of the major factor in the failure of military to subdue the tribes lies in the varying cultures among army, militia and air force. Militia's effectiveness in countering the tribal threat has been a matter of suspicion yet it was Militia which opened up the inaccessible tribal areas in North Waziristan between 2001-2005 without any major casualty, on the other hand, army despite its firepower has not been able to pacify the tribes, therefore, logically, the operational command of the agency should be reverted back to the political agent and militia. Army has attained the notion of victory after the launching of Zarb-e-Azb, prolong operation will decay this notion, thus, most logically, another Operation Curzon<sup>63</sup> is on anvil.

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<sup>62</sup> The term peace is relative in nature, in NWA, the period between 1947-2005 can be termed as peaceful in terms of ammunition expended by state and number of casualties suffered by militia and army in agency.

<sup>63</sup> Operation Curzon was launched by Pakistan Army in October-November 1947, the planning has been carried out in June 1947, resultantly all army units were withdrawn from North Waziristan. On the other hand army retained its cantonment at Khyber despite pull out from North Waziristan Agency. Also see Lieutenant Colonel H.E.M.Cotton, *Operation Curzon-Evacuation of Waziristan*, Royal Engineers Journal, 62,(1948),



1. North Waziristan Agency